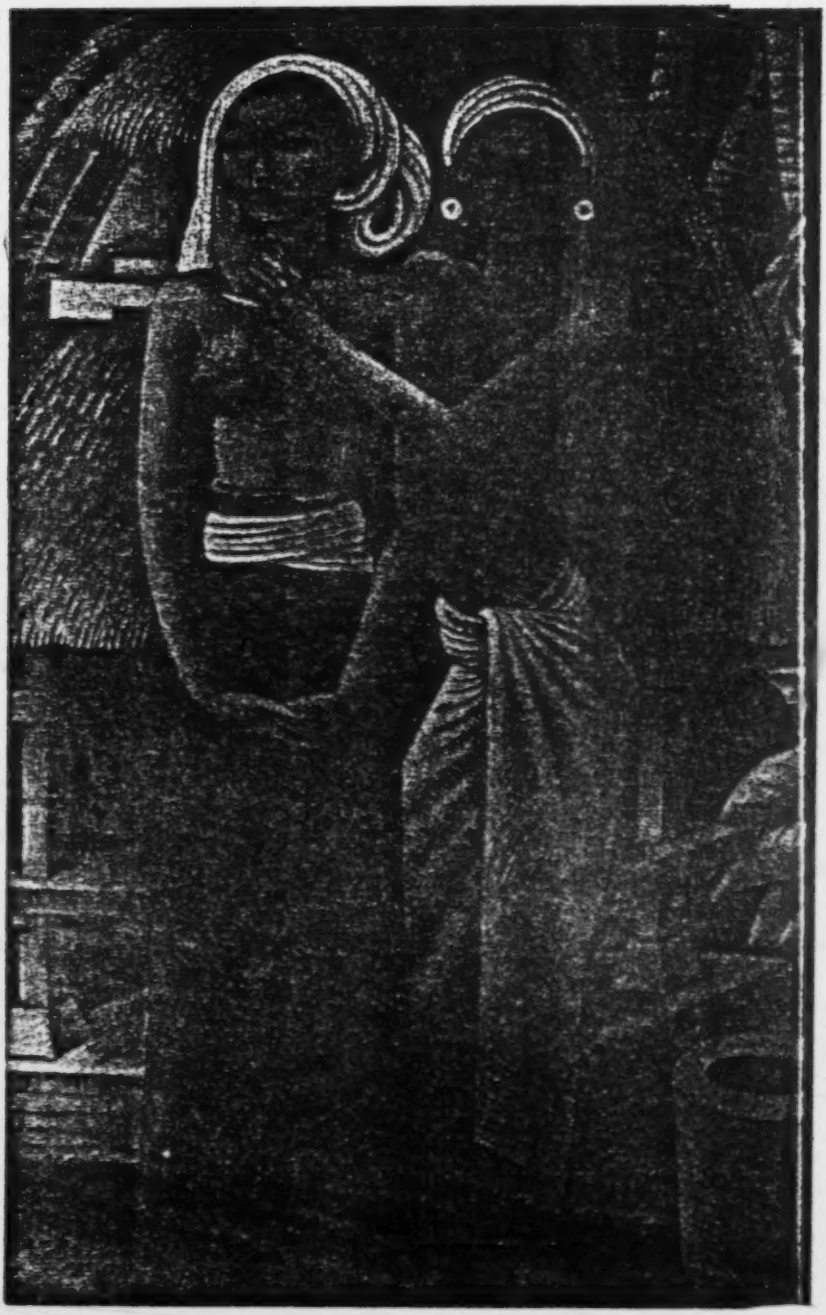
2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

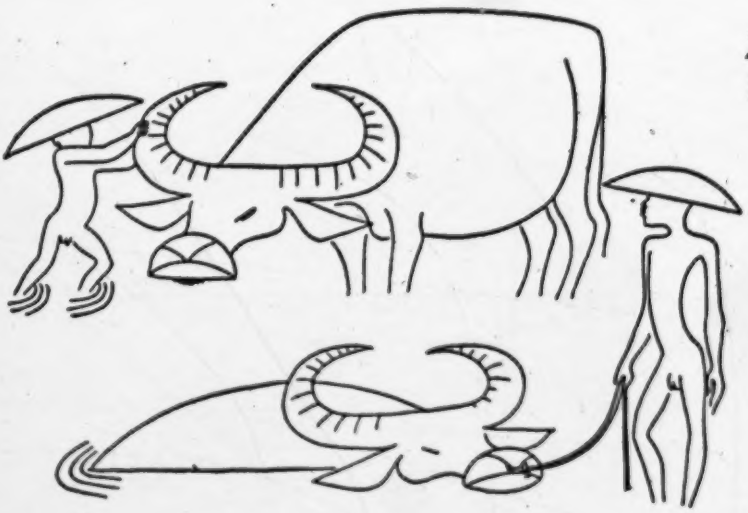
291



[facing page iii] [Color Plate]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

CHAPTER III



231
291

THE COMMUNITY

THE VILLAGE

The capitals of the princes' districts, the seats of the regencies, are commercialized half-European, half-Chinese towns like Den Pasar and Buleleng; but the true life of Bali is concentrated in thousands of villages and hamlets. With their thatched roofs they lie buried under awnings of tropical vegetation, the groves and gardens that provide for the needs of the villagers. Out of the chartreuse sea of ricefields they surge like dark green islands of tall palms, breadfruit, mango, papaya, and banana trees.

Underneath the cool darkness, pierced only by the shafts of sunlight that sift through the mesh of leaves, are the houses hidden from view by interminable mud walls that are broken at regular intervals by long narrow gates. All the gates are alike: two mud pillars supporting a small roof of thick thatch, giving access

361 [621] [245] 351

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

351 to each household by a raised doorstep of rough stones. In front of every gate is a stone bridge, or, simpler still, a section of coconut tree trunk to ford the deep irrigation ditch that runs invariably along both sides of the road.

361 A simple village consists of family compounds, each com-
[351] pletely surrounded by walls, lined on each side of a wide well-built avenue that runs in the direction of the cardinal points; from the mountain to the sea, the Balinese equivalent to our "north" and "south." The villages grew as they spread in these direc-
[491] tions, and the Dutch had only to pave the main streets and extend them through the ricefields to obtain the five-hundred-mile net of automobile roads that covers this small island.

363 The Balinese, being still essentially pedestrians, took good care to shade the roads with large trees, and every morning and every evening one sees the people in the streets, men going to work nonchalantly beating rhythms on their agricultural implements, or returning from the fields overloaded with sheaves of rice heavy with grain. Poised women come and go with great loads or shiny
[482] black clay pots on their heads. If it happens to be market day in the village, at dawn the roads are crowded with husky people from the near-by villages who come to sell their produce — piles of
[438] coconuts, bananas, or vegetables, pottery, mats, baskets, and so forth — carrying on their heads even the table that serves as a stand. If there is a feast in the village temple, the people parade
[292] in yellow, green, and magenta silks with fantastic pyramids of
[796] fruit and flowers, offerings to the gods, in a pageant that would have made Diaghilev turn green with envy.

• 291 Naked children play at the gates by the bell-shaped baskets
231 where the fighting cocks are kept. Each morning the baskets are
857 lined out on the street so that the roosters may enjoy the spectacle of people passing by. Small boys wearing only oversize sun-hats drive the enormous water-buffaloes, which in Bali appear in two colours, a dark muddy grey, and a pale, almost transparent pink,
231 an albino variety. A water-buffalo will not hesitate to attack a
857 tiger; their ponderous calm and their gigantic horns are awe-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

and heirlooms in the form of gold jewellery, a kris with a gold sheath and handle set with precious stones and a number of silver or gold vessels, all of which can be pawned in one of the Government pawnshops in case of need.

In general the Balinese have little need of cash to procure the daily necessities of life. Normally the cost of living is extremely low and food and the requirements for shelter are produced by the Balinese themselves. A meal in a public eating-place may cost as much as twenty cents, but, having rice, the cash expense for food for an entire family in the home amounts only to a few pennies, perhaps only enough to buy salt and spices. Fruit and vegetables are grown in the gardens adjoining the house; pigs, chickens, and ducks are raised at home to be killed on special occasions or for offerings which the people themselves eat after the gods have consumed the essence. Fuel consists of the fallen dry leaves and stems of the coconut trees.

The housing-problem is simple. Entire families live together in ancestral compounds, and a modest house can be built almost overnight out of bamboo and thatch at a very low cost. People without means or without a house simply go to live with a relative, "sharing a kitchen" in exchange for small services and assistance in the general housework, or procure land from the village and gradually build their own household. The daily clothing consists of a *kamben*, a piece of cotton worn like a skirt, and a head-cloth, with an added shirt or blouse in the more "modern" districts. A complete ordinary outfit of clothes costs about two guilders ($1.36 at the time of writing): one guilder for the skirt, fifty cents for the headpiece and fifty cents more for the shirt. Amusements are free and transportation is mainly by foot, leaving medicines and luxuries to be bought for cash.

It was always a mystery to us how the Balinese made the money they seemed to spend so lavishly in extravagant festivals and in beautiful clothes. They never appeared to work regularly for wages, and outside of the market, in which alone business was transacted, they never seemed interested in commerce. The men

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

brown colour, bathe the pig, before roasting, in tumeric crushed in water, and rinse off the excess root. Make a big wood fire and place the pig not directly over it, but towards one side. Forked branches should support the end of the stick that serves as a spit, one end of which is crooked to be used as a crank by a man who turns the pig constantly (*guling* means to turn), while another man fans the fire to direct the flame and smoke away from the pig. The heat should be concentrated on the head and tail and not in the middle so as not to crack the skin of the stomach.

After a few hours of slow roasting the juiciest and most tender pork is obtained, flavoured by the fragrant spices, inside of a deliciously brittle skin covered with a golden-brown glaze. Few dishes in the world can be compared with a well-made *bé guling*.

When the food is ready and the guests are assembled, sitting in long rows, they are served by the leading members of the *bandjar* and their assistants, who circulate among them carrying trays with pyramids of rice and little square dishes of palm-leaf pinned together with bits of bamboo, containing chopped mixtures, *satés*, and little side dishes of fried beans (*botor*), bean sprouts with crushed peanuts, parched grated coconuts dyed yellow with *kunyit*, and preserved salted eggs. Others pour drinks; *tuak* (palm beer), *brom*, a sweet sherry made from fermented black rice, or more rarely *arak*, distilled rice brandy. More frequently water alone is served; it is only old men who are fond of alcoholic drinks, drinking, however, with moderation and never becoming drunk. During our entire stay in Bali we never saw a man really drunk, perhaps because the Balinese dread the sensation of dizziness and confusion, of losing control over themselves.

COSTUME AND ADORNMENT

At home and at work the Balinese like to be free of excessive clothing; ordinarily the dress of both men and women consists simply of a skirt called *kamben* (the women wear an underskirt –

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

291 *tapih*) of Javanese batik or domestic hand-woven material, and a head-cloth. The women wear this skirt wrapped tight around the hips, reaching down to the feet and held at the waist by a bright-coloured sash (*bulang*). A long scarf (*kamben tjerik*) in pale pink, yellow, or white cotton completes the costume. Young girls love gay batiks from Pekalongan, full of birds and flowers in red and blue on a white ground, or hand-woven skirts of yellow and green for feasts, but older women prefer conservative brown and indigo or black silk enlivened by a green, yellow, or peach sash. The scarf is generally thrown over one shoulder or wound around the head to keep the hair in place, but it also serves as a cushion for a heavy basket carried on the head, or to wrap over the breasts when appearing in front of a superior or entering the temple, because, although the Balinese are accustomed to go nude above the waist, it is a rule of etiquette, for both men and women, that the breast must be covered for formal dress. This is purely a formula and does not imply that it is wrong to go with uncovered breasts; often the cloth is worn loosely around the waist, leaving the torso free; but even modernized Balinese, who generally wear a shirt or blouse, wrap the breast-cloth across their chest or around their middles when they wish to appear properly dressed.

For daily wear the men also wear a *kamben*, a single piece of batik reaching from the waist to a little below the knees, tied in the front and leaving a trailing end that falls into pleats. The *kamben* can be pulled up and tied into an abbreviated loincloth when the men work in the ricefields. An indispensable part of the men's dress is the head-cloth (*udeng*), a square piece of batik worn as a turban and tied in an amazing variety of styles. Each man ties his *udeng* in a manner individual to himself, taking good care that the folds form a certain pattern and that the end sticks out just right. Conservative Balinese wear the *udeng* with a corner high like a crest, but the young generation prefers small tight turbans with the four points neatly arranged in different directions. Children generally wear only a lock of hair on their

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

foreheads, but little girls learn feminine propriety by wearing a skirt many years before the boys. Priests dress all in white and one can recognize a high priest (*pedanda*, "staff-bearer") because he goes bareheaded and carries a staff (*danda*) topped by a crystal ball (*suryakanta*, "the glitter of the sun"), symbol of his authority.

It is unfortunate that new fashions in dress are introducing a new sort of class-consciousness. Young elegants feel superior and "emancipated" from the old-style peasant class when they wear a Malay *sarong*, a tube of cloth worn snug at the back, folded in front in two overlapping pleats and held at the waist by a leather belt. With the *sarong* go a pair of leather sandals, a common shirt, too often with the tails outside, and a European-style coat. This is the costume of school-teachers, clerks, chauffeurs, and those in frequent contact with Europeans, who will, in the long run, set the fashion for the rest of the population.

All women in North Bali have worn the Malay blouse (*badju*) for over half a century, since they were ordered to wear blouses by official decree "to protect the morals of the Dutch soldiers." Women of the Southern nobility started to wear *badjus*, and the fashion is rapidly spreading all over Bali. The Balinese form of *badju* is clumsy and ill-fitting and does not suit the huskier Balinese women as it does the slim Javanese. Many women cannot afford more than one *badju* and often let it go without washing. A girl who looks elegant and noble in the simple and healthy dress of the country, appears vulgar when "dressed up" in a tight *badju* of cheap cotton, not always clean, usually worn pinned up at the breast with a rusty safety-pin.

Those accustomed to associate nudity with savagery often refer to the Balinese as "charming primitive people unconcerned with clothes," but however scant and simple their daily costume may be, they love dressing up, and for feasts they will wear as elaborate a dress as they can afford, or borrow one rather than appear poorly clothed to parade at the feast. At temple feasts, weddings, and cremations one still sees middle-aged men in the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

people to have children like them was an affront to their superiority. Jane Belo points also to an endless variety of concepts relating to twins in Bali, differing from district to district and even from one village to the next — a typical attitude in regard to everything in Bali, with the general trend as described above. However, the birth of twins of the same sex (*kembar*) does not bring pollution to the village and passes as an ordinary happening, although again, as in everything else, there are exceptions to the rule.

THE LIFE OF CHILDREN

Forty-two days after birth, when the child is blessed by the priest, he is given anklets and bracelets of brass and silver in place of the black strings that he wore tied around his wrists since he was seven days old. His ears are pierced, and a thread is passed through each hole so that three months later he can wear little flower-shaped ear-rings of gold. Around his neck is tied a necklace composed of various amulets that will protect him and influence his growth: a silver tube containing a dried piece of the child's own umbilical cord, some coloured glass beads, a piece of black coral (*akar bahar*), an ancient coin, and a tiger's tooth or a piece of tiger bone. This is all the child wears until he is about seven years old, but little girls are given a skirt and a sash three or four years before. The repugnance of the Balinese for actions characteristic of animals causes them not to permit children to crawl on all fours, and before the child is three months old he may not even touch the earth and is carried everywhere.

Offerings are made when the child is three months old (*nelubulanin*) and again at his first anniversary (*otonan*) when the child is 210 days old, one Balinese year. Then he is dressed in rich brocades and is given gold bracelets, anklets, a necklace set with rubies and sapphires, and a gold disk with a ruby in it, which is pasted on the child's forehead. His hair is then cut (*ngutangin bok*), and his head is shaved clean except for a lock of hair on the forehead that is never cut; otherwise he would become ill.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali ©F7

nuts or a package of cigarettes. Some girls know that it is best to remain cold and indifferent, attending to their business, while others are gay and friendly and can answer cleverly to the boys' wisecracks.

To the Balinese, the average features of Nordics are not to be admired; sharp noses, prominent chins, white skin, blue eyes,

blond hair, and so forth are distasteful to them. They compare blond hair to that of albinos', but red hair is still worse, since only witches and some devils have red hair. Only dogs, monkeys, and evil characters have long, prominent teeth and hair over their bodies. For the Balinese taste, the skin should be smooth, clear, and devoid of superfluous hair, which they call *bulú*, "feathers," to differentiate it from the "proper" hair of the head, which is called *rambut*. The hair of women should be thick, black, and glossy; goddesses are represented with hair down to their knees. The complexion should not be too dark and a girl with a golden

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

hundred years. There all the houses and all the temples have tin roofs and all the women wear soiled blouses, "signs of civilization," both supposedly made compulsory by official decree – to the joy of the importers of foreign cloth and of galvanized tin. After the Dutch occupation of Buleleng in 1848, someone decided that the morals of the Dutch soldiers needed protection, and a law was passed requiring the women to wear blouses. Tin roofs also, it is rumoured, were ordered to replace the thatched ones because an official became deeply concerned about the possibility of fires caused by "exploding automobiles." Only three years ago the women of Den Pasar went to market proudly uncovered to the waist, but the princes' wives wore the ugly blouses and soon they became the dictate of fashion. In Den Pasar they now regard those who go habitually with uncovered breasts as "crude mountain people." Young men are growing contemptuous of the simple batik *kain* and headcloth of their forefathers. After dark, in Buleleng and Den Pasar, the equipment of the smart young man-about-town consists of a set of striped pyjamas, a Mohammedan skull-cap, sandals, a bicycle, and a flashlight, although he may still wear flowers behind his ear to stroll on the main street among the food-vendors, the flourishing prostitutes and procurors that haunt the streets around the hotels.

Undoubtedly Bali will soon enough be "spoiled" for those fastidious travellers who abhor all that which they bring with them. No longer will the curious Balinese of the remote mountain villages, still unaccustomed to the sight of whites, crowd around their cars to stare silently at the "exotic" long-nosed, yellow-haired foreigners in their midst. But even when all the Balinese will have learned to wear shirts, to beg, lie, steal, and prostitute themselves to satisfy new needs, the tourists will continue to come to Bali to see the sights, snapping pictures frantically, dashing from temple to temple, back to the hotel for meals, and on to watch rites and dances staged for them. The Balinese

142
291

ABOVE: Old men from Sanur

BELOW: Two boys from Sebatu

[P.406 (XL)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

142
302
291

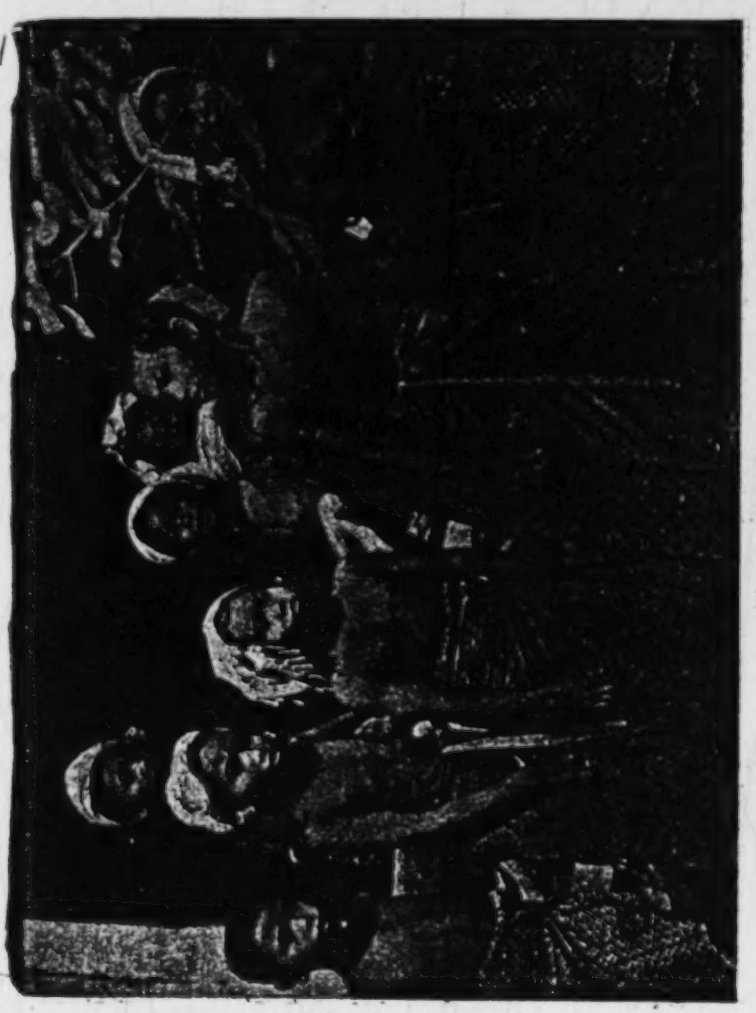
Gebrag, a famous legong dancer

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

142
291
516

Watching a play

291



An attentive group

[P. 406 (XV)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

142
291
301
302
516
855

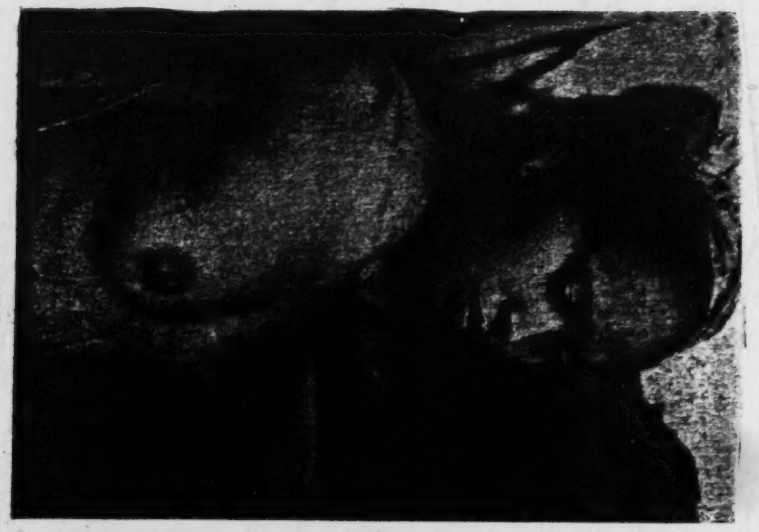
A proud grandfather

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

291
302
855

The loving sister

142
291
302



Mukluk

Tjiblun

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

142
291
302

Ayu and Tjamplong in modern dress

[P. 406 (~~XIX~~)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

142
291

[516]

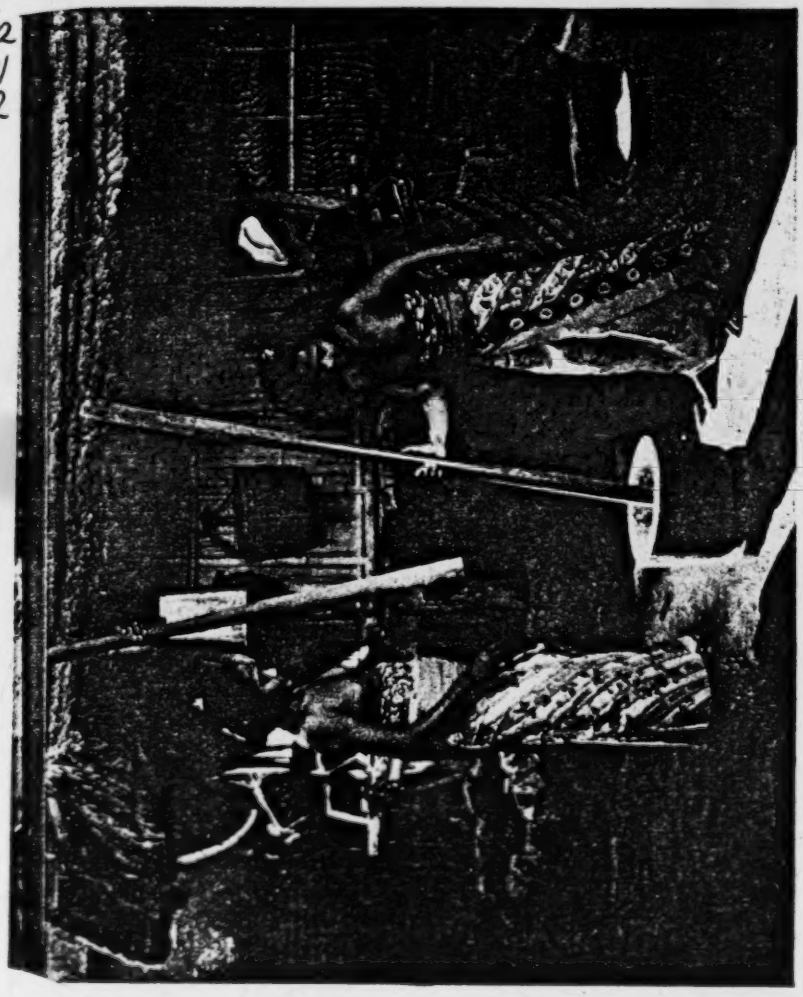
ABOVE: Three generations

BELOW: Three men from the mountains

[P. 406 (~~XX~~)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

252
291
412

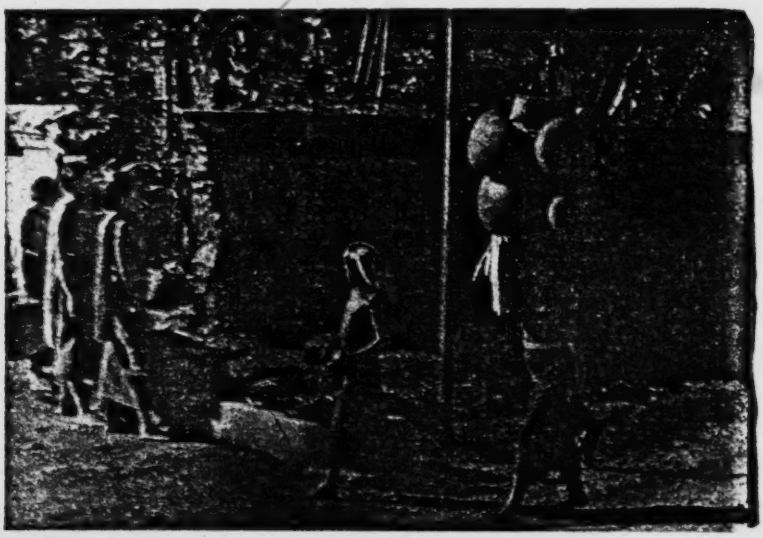


Girls of Sanur pounding rice

[P. 406 (XXIII)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

482



272
415
291

Going to market

Sweet drinks of crushed leaves are popular in the markets

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

142
291
516
443

[415]

The old and the young sell their wares side by side
At noon the market is at its height

[P. 406 (~~XXVII~~)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

482
291
203
443

Exchanging news in the market at Den Pasar

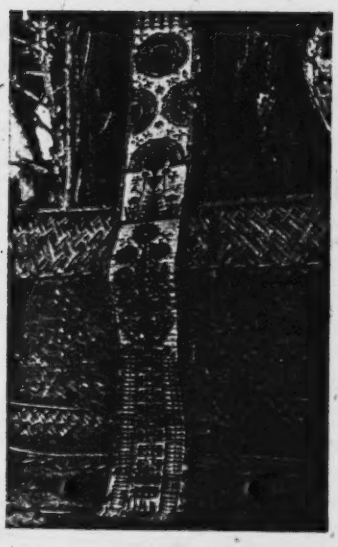
2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

541
516
291

Preparing for the cockfight: tying on the steel spurs; the owners of the cocks

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

531
782
285
346



[291]

A *lamak*, a strip of palm-leaves designed for temple decoration; a detail of the same. BELOW, a shrine decorated for a temple feast

[P. 406 (XXXVIII)]

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

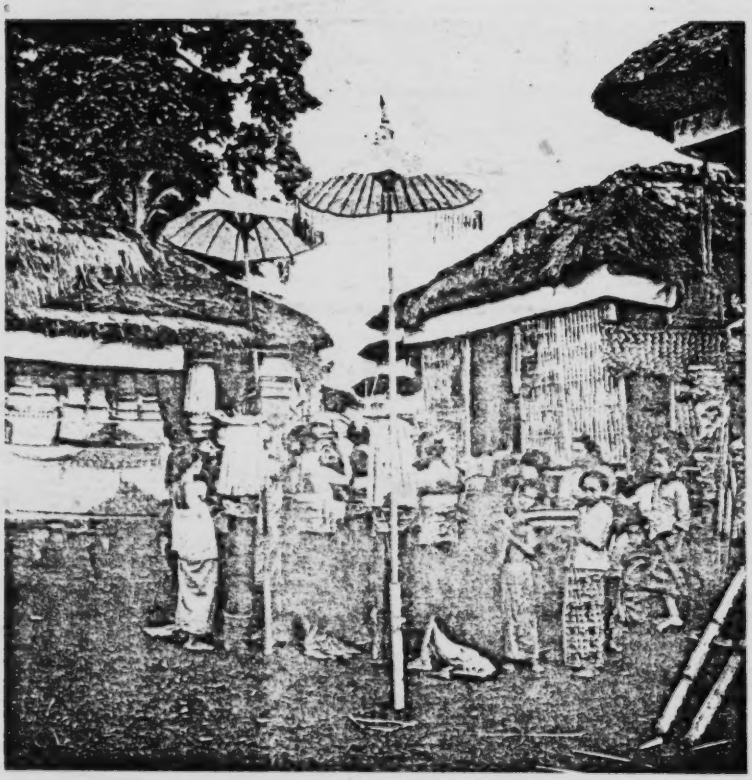
796
291
142
293
137

Procession, bearing offerings to the temple. The roadway is decorated with bamboo poles (*penjor*).

Frontispiece
[opp. title page]

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

346
341
142
291
782
*796



Women present offerings before the shrines

[opp. p. 16]

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 ~~OF7 Bali OF7~~

PLATE IV

193
192
291
516

The priest, the *pemangkoe dèsa*

[opp. p. 33]

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

*796
535
142
291
293

Méndèt (or *gabor*), dance with offerings. Note the *gegaloeh* puppet in the waistband.

[opp. p. 48]

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

PLATE VII

796*
534
142
516
291

The *gamelan* orchestra plays throughout the three days of the festival

[opp. p. 64]

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

PLATE VIII

*796
346
142
241

Dawn of the last day of the festival

[opp. p. 65]

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

represent the firm. For the temple, certain offerings are customarily prepared by men, others by women. But the work is shared out according to households; and if during the preparatory days the man is busy working in the rice fields, his wife may represent his household at the temple, or if she is busy at home, he may go in her stead. All the working of the village life is built up out of these household units, and it is for this reason almost unthinkable to remain unmarried. Bachelors and old maids are practically unknown.

When a child is born no special point is made as to whether it is a male or a female. It is like a little god, newly come from the heaven of the gods, perhaps an ancestor returned to earth. At three months it is taken for the first time to the temple to make its obeisance at the shrine of the Recorder of Births. From this time until the time of its losing its first teeth (*meketoes*), the child has a status of maximum innocence and purity; it is the nearest thing to a god which man may know. It is made much of and adored by both parents, whether it be male or female. After the age of six, the difference in occupation begins to effect a certain typing according to sex which was not evident up to that time. Little boys do herding of ducks and cattle in the fields, while little girls carry water and help their mothers in the household tasks.

When they begin to wear clothes, the *kamben* worn by boys and girls is almost identical, and, even among adult men and women, the difference between men's dress and women's dress is only a slight difference in the tying of the cloth or in the length to which it falls below the knee. Up until the last generation both men and women had long hair, and even today most priests still wear their hair long. In physical type, too, there is little difference between males and females. Both are slender and have relatively wide shoulders and narrow hips, a strong straight back, erect carriage, smooth muscles, and a smooth skin practically without body hair. The men have no beard, and their features do not differ markedly from the women's. It is not at all unusual to mistake a man for a woman, or a woman for a man, even at a few paces' distance.

This merging and indeterminacy of the sexes is to some extent offset by certain rules of behavior. For example, a man sits crosslegged, while a woman sits with both legs to one side. Or a man climbs coconut trees, a woman weaves. Thus, if it is impossible to tell whether a figure is male or female by looking at it, one may be able to tell by the way it is sitting or by what it is doing. And when we find, as we occasionally do, individuals who wish to be of the opposite sex, it is precisely by doing such things as climbing coconut trees or weaving that they express this wish.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

796
776

Battle between Barong and Rangda.

Rangda and her pupils, minor witches.

[786]
[516]
[291]

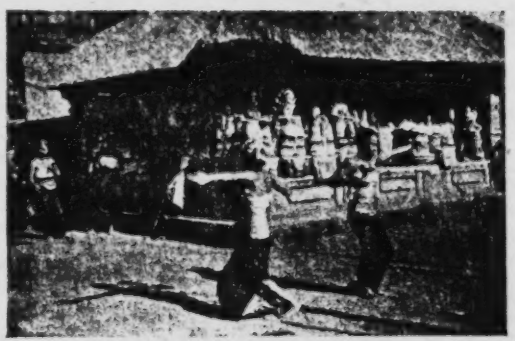
Barong dancing to revive the fallen trancers. The priest is sprinkling them with holy water. (*Photos Gregory Bateson*)

[End Plate 7, following P. 62]

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

A

B



C

A. *Metjaroe*. An offering to the bad spirits, spread on the ground in the 5 directions, N S E W and Center. The priest dedicates the offerings while the women perform *melis*, a purification.

B. The priest lifts the *tjanang rébong* to the base of the shrine. Note the Rangda figure on the corner, her long tongue and the child. Also the *lamak* panel which hangs as an "apron" from beneath her.

C. Women dancing *méndét*, a dance with offerings, as the sun rises at the end of the night of *odalan*. (*Photos author.*)

[End plate 3, following p. 62]

[535]
[291]

796
782

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

[Ebe] [Pub] 182 • 658 796

Child dancers, inside the temple. Note fearsome male and female figures as "temple guardians."

Two of the baby dancers, 1930. (*Photos author.*)

[CH]

The "ceremonial seating" of the *sadegs*, or gods' spokesmen, for the feast and the godly conversation.

K. M. and one of the child dancers, observing dancing.

[End Plate 4, following P. 62]

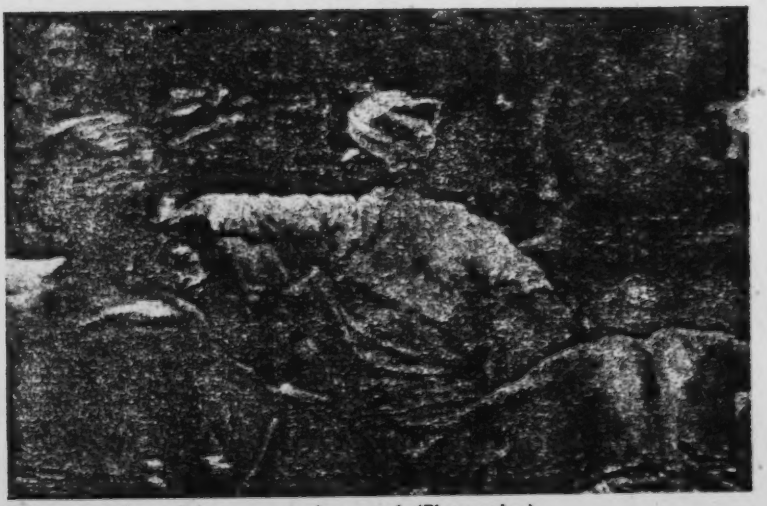
4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

PLATE VIII

796
786
291
[516]

A trancer pressing the *kris* against his own breast.

[193]



Priest attempting to bring trancer under control. (*Photos author.*)

[End plate 8, following P. 67]

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

986
142
291

The limp stage in the first fall.

The contracting stage, which follows.

The "fighting" stage, as trancer is "disarmed."

[End Plate 9, following P. 62]

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

845*
854
291
142

Photo Walter Spies.

1. The parents with the twin, the grandmother holding the pusuh.

845*
349

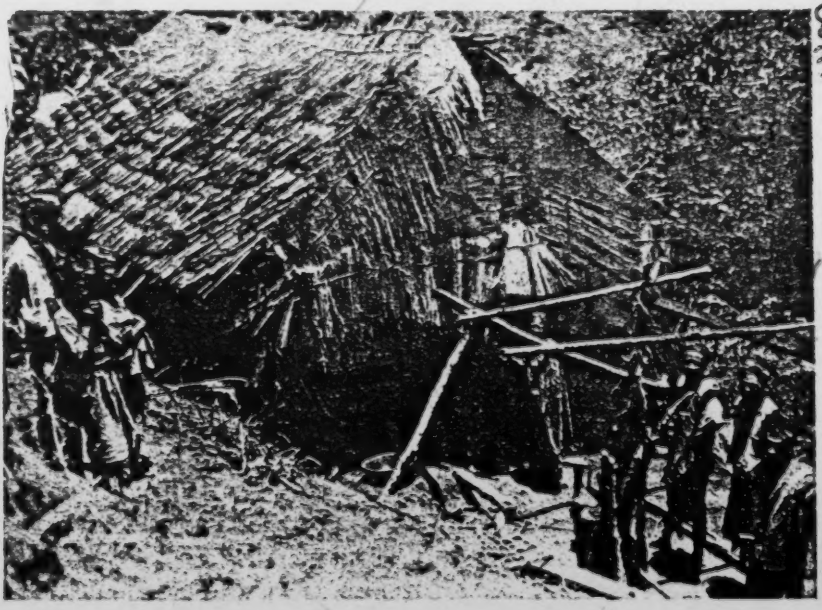


Photo Walter Spies.

2. The big kubu for the exiles.

[P.490(B)]

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

*845
.83
349

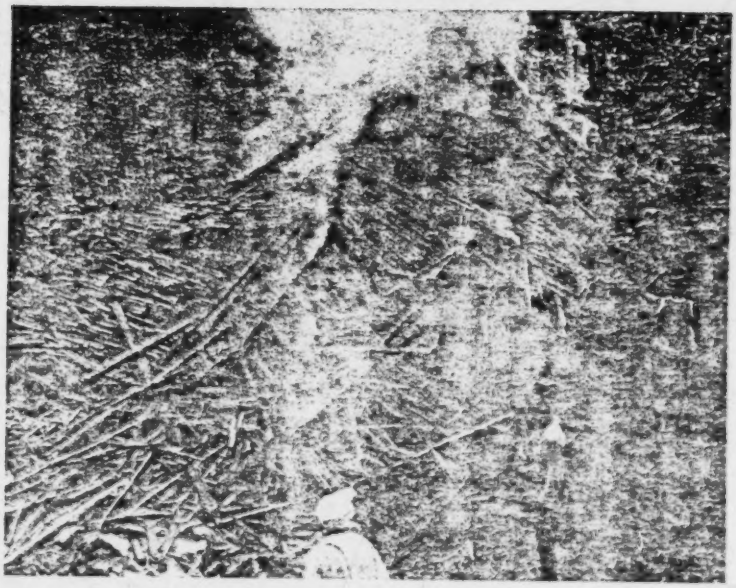


Photo Walter Spies.

3. The big kubu is burned down.

[291]

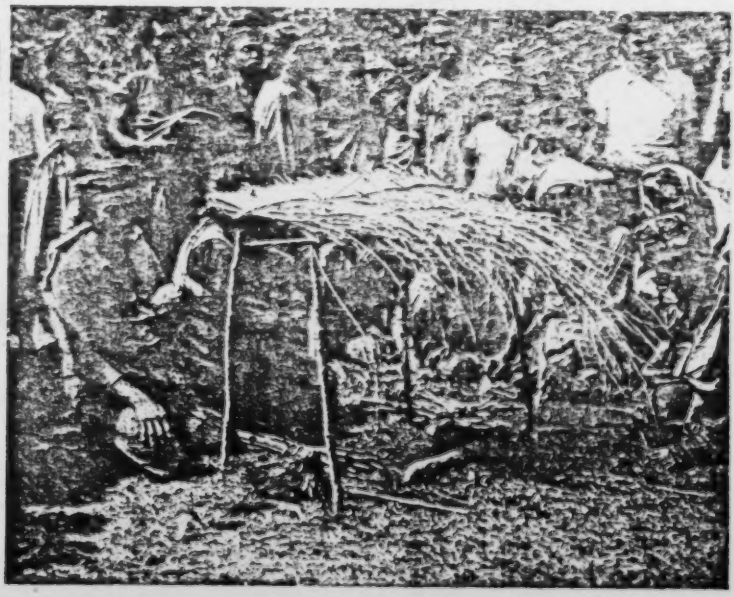
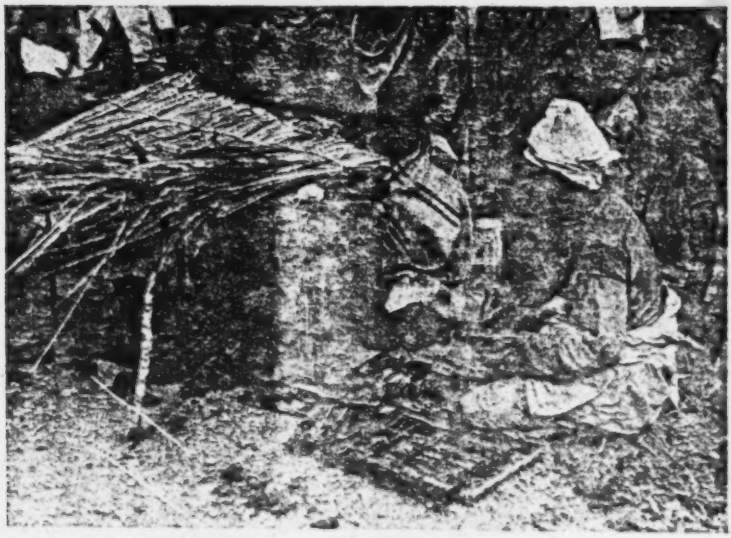


Photo Walter Spies.

4. Ceremony at the small kubu. The father holds the pusuh, the mother the twin. Each carries a knife with an onion impaled.

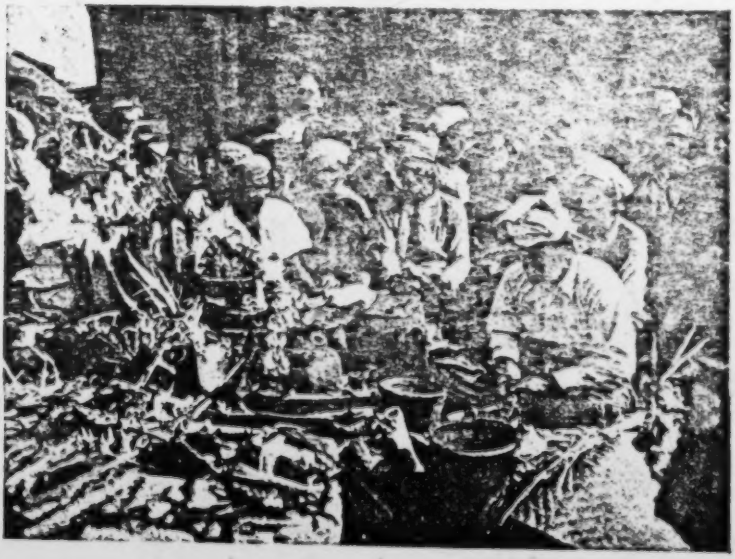
5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7



845*
782
516
291

Photo Walter Spies.

5. *At the small kubu. The balian dedicates the offerings „karangan manchālimă".*



[415]

Photo Walter Spies.

6. *Offerings to the bad spirits on the site of the house. The sĕngguhu in the foreground: behind him the balian and two kĕbayan's.*

[p. 498(A)]

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

*845
415
291
782

Photo Walter Spies.

7. *The sĕngguhu rings the bell, while the balian blows the conch.*

[778]
[192]

Photo Walter Spies.

8. *Calling the bad spirits to the feast.*

[p. 498(B)]

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
OF7 Bali OF7

tion for a feast. In taking the position the Balinese, be he a man of eighty or a child of eight, lowers himself with the back held straight, at the same time pulling the loin-cloth with his two hands tight over the thighs, so that the folds will not hang and expose him indecently. Women are of course, equally modest, and the little girls learn this trick earlier than the boys, for they are generally given a strip of cloth to wrap around them at the age of four or five, whereas the boys run naked several years longer.

Women sit with their legs bent back from the knees, both legs to one side. They may not take the crosslegged position which is proper for the men. A high priest, who has a right to the place of honor, will on entering a European house choose not the most softly cushioned, but the highest chair, and he will cross his legs upon the seat of it. Certain ascetics of noble caste, who have bound themselves to strict rules of behavior, may not sit down to eat facing in any direction except North or East. In the palaces of the nobility men of humble rank may sit or squat, but they are not allowed to stand or walk while a prince is seated. When they have to move about, fulfilling orders, they advance in a half-crouching position. So strongly felt is the matter of relative height that a man may ask one's permission before venturing to climb up a coconut tree to bring one refreshment.

The Balinese prefer to eat alone, and it is forbidden to speak to anyone who is eating. To speak to him would anger the god that is in him.[7] In some villages there used to be a fine imposed on any man who entered another's house and disturbed him while he was eating. Of this fine part was paid directly to the affronted person, part to the community, in compensation for disturbing the peace. Within the household there is no sitting down to a family meal. Each member takes his leaf-plate of rice at his own pleasure, carrying it off into a corner, often turning his back on his friends and relatives.[8] It is only proper to take food in the right hand while eating, although of course both hands are used in the preparation of it. Along the roads, at the markets, and at all performances are little stalls where refreshments are sold. But I have known several Balinese who said it was improper to eat in the street, and that they were "too ashamed" to do it.

[7] Here again, indigestion as a disturbance of bodily well-being is to be feared and avoided.

[8] In my own house I often surprised a boy or girl crouching alone in a dark cupboard absorbing the allotted plateful of rice, while a merry group who were not at the moment eating sat chatting without.

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

*183
708
142
201

Offering maker with *lis*.

1 Alkema & Bezemer--113 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia
Bali OF7

142
291
352

Balinese Women

[101 cont.]
000 people during the first year of marriage.
621 [102] The villagers also have financial duties; they must
651 pay for the dèsa festivals and ceremonies through the patoeroenan a tax payable in money. To provide the dèsa treasury with money

[M+2 291]

Balinese Family Group
Photo. Kolonial Instituut, Amsterdam. Coll. Aug. de Wit.

[541 525] cock-fighting also is organized, and a portion of the betting money exacted.

623 Village Meetings. These usually take place once a month
[805] (the Balinese month has 35 days), in the village temple at full moon and in the temple of the dead at new moon, or, in the old-fashioned dèsa, in the balé-agoeng erected in the forecourt of the
[624] village temple. The evening before the meeting the messengers of the klian summon the villagers on the signal block.

Ngadju OC9
Land Dyak OC8
Lesser Sundas OF1
Javanese OE5
Timor OF20

OB1 Indonesia OB1
Gorontolo OG4
Sundanese OE7
Balinese OF7
Malays AN5
Nias OD21

G
291 [46 cont.]

T. L. en Vk., Vol. XIX, p. 132.

T
LD
NL
Ni
MI
BI
Sn
I
291

p. Baju

Originally, the upper body of both married and unmarried women was left bare, and this is still the case among many peoples, among others, the Sundanese, Balinese, the Malays of the Padang Highlands, the Niassans, the Dajak [Dyak] of the southeastern and western divisions of Borneo, the Timorese, etc. [47] (1). Among the peoples named, covering

1. Bloemen Waanders, Tijdschr. v. Ind. T. L. en Vk., Vol. VIII, p. 139. Gramberg, op. cit., p. 201. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, p. 13. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 604. Perelaer, op. cit. pp. 103-104. Veth, Borneo's Westerafdeeling, II, 259. Van Rosenberg, Verh. Bat. Gen. v. K. en W., Vol. XXX, p. 148.

the chest is often even an atrocity, as has been reported of the Niassans (2). Among other peoples, on the other hand, the

J
LS
Bt
I
291

2. Van Rosenberg, ibid., p. 31.

women, particularly the unmarried women, soon felt the need to cover the upper body, specifically the bosom, for which the national kain or sarong is used. This is confirmed by the fact that among some peoples, for example, the Batak and a number of others, mainly tribes inhabiting the Lesser Sunda Islands, the bosom is covered by simply fastening the sarong under the arm, or, as is customary among the Javanese and